

## Message Text

PAGE 01 SAN SA 04572 080020Z

66

ACTION ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

ACDA-19 IO-14 USIE-00 INRE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 NEA-10

DRC-01 /127 W

----- 070229

O 072340Z DEC 73

FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4288

INFO AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA IMMEDIATE NIACT

AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE IMMEDIATE NIACT

AMEMBASSY MANAGUA IMMEDIATE NIACT

AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA IMMEDIATE NIACT

AMEMBASSY MEXICO

USCINCSO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SAN SALVADOR 4572

E.O. 11652 - GDS

TAGS: PFOR, HO, ES

SUBJECT: HONDURAS/EL SALVADOR; FOREIGN MINISTER CONTINUES TO EXPLORE  
COMPROMISE FORMULA

REF: A) STATE 239640

USCINCSO FOR POLAD

1. I CALLED ON FOREIGN MINISTER BORGONOVO LATE MORNING OF DECEMBER 7  
AND, IN VIEW OF BORGONOVO'S EARLIER INQUIRY, DISCREETLY REVIEWED  
WITH HIM APPROPRIATE SECTIONS OF REF A REPORTING BATRES' CALL  
AT THE DEPARTMENT. WHILE IN HIS OFFICE AMBASSADOR BETRAND GALINDO  
CALLED FROM WASHINGTON TO REPORT ON CONVERSATION WITH  
AMBASSADOR GALVEZ PREVIOUS EVENING. GALVEZ EVIDENTLY OUTLINED  
TO BETRAND SUBSTANCE OF TALKS BATRES HAD WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY  
KUBISH AND DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY BOWDLER DECEMBER 5. THE  
TWO ALSO DISCUSSED A "JOINT DECLARATION OF PROGRESS" THAT COULD  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 SAN SA 04572 080020Z

BE ISSUED DECEMBER 15 IF, AS EXPECTED, THE NEGOTIATORS ARE  
UNABLE TO COMPLETE THEIR WORK AT MEXICO. BETRAND EVIDENTLY TOLD  
BORGONOVO THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE GOH HAD ACCEPTED THIS CONCEPT  
AND WAS SEEKING GOES VIEWS ON IT. BORGONOVO ASKED BETRAND TO CABLE

FULL REPORT BUT AUTHORIZED HIM TO TELL GALVEZ THAT GOES ALSO ACCEPTED IT IN PRINCIPLE, ALTHOUGH HE SAID DETAILS WOULD HAVE TO BE WORKED OUT. SPECIFICALLY, HE HAD RESERVATIONS ABOUT LANGUAGE CONCERNING THE PROGRESS ON THE BORDER QUESTION, SUCH AS A STATEMENT (EVIDENTLY MENTIONED BY GALVEZ) THAT "90PERCENT OF THE BORDER" HAD BEEN AGREED UPON. BORGONOVO FEARS WORDING THAT THE PRESS AND PUBLIC WOULD ZERO IN ON.

IN THIS REGARD, WHAT HE TOLD ME IMPLIED THAT SALVADOR HAS A PUBLIC AND PRIVATE POSITION ON ANY FORMULA AIMED AT SETTling THE BORDER. PUBLICLY, IT WOULD REFER ONLY TO GENERAL BORDER SETTLEMENT WHILE PRIVATELY IT WOULD BE AGREED THAT ONLY THE DISPUTED AREAS WOULD BE SUBJECT TO REVIEW BY THE MIXED COMMISSION. HE ALSO ADMITTED THAT THE SALVADORAN MILITARY STILL HELD SOME TERRITORY IT HAD TAKEN IN 1969 THAT COULD BE RETURNED. ALSO, WITHOUT MY REVEALING TO HIM BATRES' POSITION ON THE MEANGUERA ISLAND, HE DISMISSED ANY "TRADE OFF" OF THE ISLAND BY HONDURAS AS A NEGOTIATING PLOY TO SUCK SALVADOR INTO ACCEPTING ARBITRATION.

2. BORGONOVO STILL FEELS THAT MUCH HAS ALREADY BEEN DONE AND MUCH MORE CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED NEXT WEEK SO THAT BOTH PARTIES COULD STILL ARRIVE AT AN AGREEMENT INCORPORATING (1) THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS TO DATE AND (2) PROVIDING FORMULAS FOR RESOLVING REMAINING DISPUTES. HE NOTED THAT THE WASHINGTON ACCORD COMMITS BOTH SIDES TO NEGOTIATE A TREATY WHICH "WILL GOVERN" THE MATTERS UNDER DISPUTE, NOT NECESSARILY RESOLVE THEM. (COMMENT: HERE, OF COURSE, GOH'S LIKELY POSITION ON ARBITRATION AS A MEANS OF SETTLEMENT COULD AGAIN BE THE OBSTACLE.) THUS, BORGONOVO WILL URGE HIS DELEGATION TO PUSH FOR A SETTLEMENT FORMULA THIS WEEK, IF AT ALL POSSIBLE.

3. IF THIS IS NOT POSSIBLE, THE SALVADORAN DELEGATION WILL AGAIN URGE THAT THE TALKS BE SUSPENDED UNTIL APRIL. FOR OUR INFORMATION ONLY REPEAT ONLY, HE SAID THE SALVADORAN FALLBACK POSITION WILL BE TO ACCEPT CONTINUATION (RATHER THAN SUSPENSION) OF TALKS WHICH COULD THEN GO ON AT A SLOWER (AND LESS PUBLICIZED PACE), PERHAPS WITH A REVISED DEADLINE OF JUNE 1974.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 SAN SA 04572 080020Z

4. BORGONOVO ASSERTED THAT ALL OF THESE ALTERNATIVES HE DESCRIBED REPRESENTED AN EFFORT TO AVOID HAVING THE NEGOTIATIONS BREAK OFF DEFINITELY. SHOULD NONE OF THESE WORK AND SHOULD HONDURAS HOLD THAT THE BI-LATERAL CHANNEL HAS BEEN EXHAUSTED AS OF

DECEMBER 15, BORGONOVO SEE TWO SITUATIONS IN THE OFFING. IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, THE SETTLEMENT EFFORT WOULD BE DROPPED FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE, AND BOTH COUNTRIES WOULD GO BACK TO THEIR OWN BUSINESS, CONTINUING ALONG WITH THE SAME SORT OF ESTRANGED RELATIONSHIP THEY NOW HAVE. IN THE SECOND INSTANCE, HONDURAS MIGHT TAKE ITS CASE TO THE OAS OR SOME OTHER INTERNATIONAL FORUM AND LAUNCH AN ANTI-SALVADORAN PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN, CHARGING THE GOES WITH BAD FAITH, AND DEMANDING ARBITRATION. BORGONOVO FEARS A

SALVADORAN BACKLASH TO THIS LATTER COURSE. HE CONTENTS THAT SALVADOR HAS WORKED HARD TO IMPROVE THE CLIMATE FOR NEGOTIATIONS, HAS DOWNPLAYED INSULTS FROM HONDURAS, HAS GENERALLY IGNORED THE "ILLEGAL" HONDURAN TRADE BI-LATERALS WITH THE OTHER CA'S, HAS RESTRAINED ITS OWN MEDIA. HOWEVER, HE SAYS PATIENCE IS WEARING THIN AND ALTHOUGH HE PERSONALLY WOULD NOT LIKE TO SEE SUCH TACTICS, THOUGHT HAS BEEN GIVEN TO VARIOUS STEPS THAT WOULD TOTALLY REVERSE SALVADOR'S ATTITUDE IF PROVOKED BY HONDURAS. THESE INCLUDED OUTLANDISH TERRITORIAL CLAIMS AGAINST HONDURAS, THREATS NOT TO DISCUSS THE BORDER ISSUE UNTIL THE PAN AMERICAN HIGHWAY IS OPENED (A REVERSAL OF THE HONDURAN POSITION), CLOSING THE HIGHWAY AT SALVADOR TO OTHER CA TRAFFIC OR LEVY CHARGES TO MAKE UP FOR ADVANTAGES OTHERS ENJOY UNDER IT TRANSPORTATION COSTS, ATTEMPT TO BLOCK OR DELAY REGIONAL ASSISTANCE TO HONDURAS (ESPECIALLY FROM CENTRAL AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK), BOYCOTT MEETINGS WHERE HONDURAS IS IN ATTENDANCE, CHALLENGE THE LEGALITY OF THE HONDURAS BI-LATERALS, AND GENERALLY ADOPT AGGRESSIVE, OBSTINATE TACTICS IN ORDER TO FORCE THE OTHER CA'S TO PRESSURE HONDURAS. BORGONOVO AGAIN STRESSED THAT HE PERSONALLY WAS NOT ADVOCATING ANY SUCH TACTICS BUT SAID THAT PRESSURE ON THE GOVERNMENT WOULD BE HEAVY INDEED TO RESPOND ALONG THESE LINES AND FEW ALTERNATE COURSES WOULD BE OPEN TO IT. THUS, HE CONCLUDED, IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT SOME WAY BE FOUND TO KEEP THE BI-LATERAL DIALOGUE ALIVE, EITHER THROUGH SOME "JOINT DECLARATION OF PROGRESS" WITH A SUSPENSION OF THE TALKS UNTIL APRIL, OR THEIR CONTINUATION AFTER DEC 15 IN A LOW KEY. I REVEALED TO BORGONOVO THAT LAZAR AND I PLANNED TO RAISE THE POSSIBILITY OF A JOINT DELCARATION WITH CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 SAN SA 04572 080020Z

PRESIDENT MOLINA WHEN WE MEET WITH HIM NEXT WEEK (TENTATIVELY SET FOR NOON DECEMBER 10).

5. I TOOK THE OPPTLTUNITY TO REMIND BORGONOVO OF THE UN-FORTUNATE REPERCUSSIONS THAT WOULD STEM FROM THE DELIVERY OF ANY OF THE ISRAELI JETS TO EL SALVADOR WHILE THESE DELICATE NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUED, ESPECIALLY IN HONDURAN MILITARY CIRCLES AND PUBLIC OPINION. SOMEWHAT SHEEPISHLY, BORGONOVO ASKED WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT THE DELIVERY SCHEDULE, COMPLAINING THAT HE HAD ASKED MOD ROBERO TO KEEP HIM ADVISED OF THE PROGRESS ON THIS TRANSACTION, BUT IMPLYING THAT HE HAD NOT DONE SO. I TOLD HIM THAT WE UNDERSTOOD THE FIRST TRAINERS WERE DUE TO ARRIVE IN NOVEMBER OF THIS YEAR BUT THAT ISRAEL WAS EVIDENTLY SEEKING A DELAY DUE TO THE WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST.  
MOSKOWITZ

CONFIDENTIAL

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 10 MAY 1999  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** AGREEMENTS, DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS INTERRUPTION, PROPAGANDA, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, BOUNDARY CLAIMS, MEETINGS, NEGOTIATIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 07 DEC 1973  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** hilburpw  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1973SANSAA04572  
**Document Source:** ADS  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** 11652 - GDS  
**Errors:** n/a  
**Film Number:** n/a  
**From:** SAN SALVADOR  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1973/newtext/t19731256/abqcehwc.tel  
**Line Count:** 157  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE  
**Office:** ACTION ARA  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** A) STATE 239640  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** hilburpw  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 17 JAN 2002  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <17-Jan-2002 by smithrj>; APPROVED <07 FEB 2002 by hilburpw>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** HONDURAS/EL SALVADOR; FOREIGN MINISTER CONTINUES TO EXPLORE COMPROMISE      FORMULA  
**TAGS:** PFOR, HO, ES, (BOROGONOV POHL, MURICIO)  
**To:** STATE INFO TEGUCIGALPA NIACT  
SAN JOSE NIACT  
MANAGUA NIACT  
GUATEMALA NIACT  
MEXICO  
USCINCSO

**Type:** TE

**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005